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H. Watson

THE
Grounds & Reasons
OF
MONARCHY
Considered.

IN
A Review of the SCOTCH
Story, gathered out of their
best Antiquaries and
Records.

By *J. H. Hunter*

Corrected and Reprinted
According to the *Edinburgh Copy*.
Anno MDCLII.

THE
GROWING & IMPROVING

MONARCHY
CONTINUED.

IN
A HISTORY OF THE SCOTCH
ROY. GRANTED OUT OF THEIR
P. L. V. and
RECEIVED.

By J. H.

As corrected and Reprinted
According to the Edinburgh Copy
NEW AND CORRECTED



THE PREFACE

Here is nothing
bath more confoun-
ded knowledge a-
mong men, then the recip-
calt violences of the under-
standing and the will; or, to
speak plainly, the passion of
the one and blindnesse of the
other: Since some by chance

The Preface.

or interest take up Principles
which they force the Under-
standing by strained Argu-
ments to maintain: Others
by the Custome of some opi-
nion so bewitch the Will in-
to confedracy, that they can
never quit it after confutati-
on; to remedy this, since I
had purposed with my self to
say somewhat to this point
(which though it be but a
small myer, yet the great
weight of civill felicitie lies
upon it) I knew no better
meed then to take the scales
off

The Preface.

off the eyes of the Under-
standing, and show the
Witch how better to bring a-
bout her great designs of good:
And in the prosecution of
this, I would not skirmish
with every Argument which
had been a thing of immense
slavery and not for every
eye; but I choosed rather to
strike at the foundations,
that the understanding might
loose his passion, and more
freely consider upon what
Quick-sands they lay; and
in this I needed not to be posi-
tive,

The Preface.

tive, because I take a task which most men are rather happy in, that is, to supplant Error rather then to assert Truth: Hence I consider King-ship simply, not troubling my self to maintain any other form, or consider Oaths, Ends, changes of Government, or particular necessitie or Reasons of safety: they being distinct Considerations and tasks by themselves. Now if this negative way satisfie not, I see no such great cause to be
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The Preface.

discouraged, for (I confesse) I do not perceive it so easie a thing to find an error, and I had rather tell a man he was out of the way, then in endeavouring to lead him to the end of his journey, lead him further about : and it is my opinion, that as Sceptiscime is not onely uselesse, but dangerous, if in setting our thoughts in a posture of defence, it makes us absolutely wavering and incredulous : so had I rather be Scepticall in my
A 4 opinion

The Preface.

opinion, then maintain it upon Grounds taken up and not demonstrated,

The second Part is meerly an instance as to the Arguments of the First, wherein I would not be understood to be a Writer of an Epitome; (I have other employments for my Time and Thoughts; and nobler too) but to set down a true Series by way of Example, and therefore I was only to note Accesses and Recesses to Governments, and the effects proceeding

The Preface.

ceeding from the persons of Governours, and here as I needed not much trouble the Chronologie: So lest it might be a bare Sceleton, I sprinkled some observations, that came to hand, and seem to afford either pleasure or use. Thus much lest I might be misunderstood, I thought necessary to premise.



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THE
G R O U N D S
OF
M O N A R C H Y.

The first Part.

I Have often thought it strange that among all the Governments, either past or being, the *Monarchicall* should so far in extent and number exceed the *Popular*, as that they could never yet come into comparison. I could never be perswaded, but it was more happy for a people to be disposed of by a number of persons jointly interested and

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concerned with them, then to be numbered as the herd and Inheritance of One to whose lust and madnesse they were absolutely subject; and that any man of the weakest reason and generosity would not rather choose for his habitation that piece of earth, whereon there were access to honour by virtue and no worth could be excluded; rather then that where all advancement should proceed from the will of one scarcely hearing and seeing with his own Organs, and gain'd for the most part by means lewd and indirect, and that in the end to amount to nothing else but a more splendid and dangerous slavery. To satisfy this, I considered how inscrutably Providence carries on the turns and stops of all Governments, so that most people rather found them then made them; the constitutions of men, some not fit to be masters of
their

their Liberty, some not capable, some not willing: the Ambition of settled Tyrants, who breaking their own bounds have brought in violent alterations, and lastly, civil discord, which have either corrupted or altered better settlements.

But these are observations, rather than Arguments, and relate to fact, rather than reason. That which astonished me most was to see this Heroick learned Age, not only not rising to thoughts of Liberty, but in stead thereof foolishly turning their wits and swords against themselves in the maintenance of *Them*, whose slaves they are, and indeed they can be no weak causes that produce so long and settled a distemper though some of them I supposed, if not most of them, are these.

He knoweth nothing that knoweth not how superstitiously the

generality of mankind is given to hold up traditions, and how pertinacious it is in the maintenance of its first prejudices, insomuch that a discovery or more refine reason is as insupportable to them, as the Sunne is to an eye newly brought out of darknesse; hence opiniatrie (which is commonly proportioned to their ignorance) and a generous obstinacy sometimes to death and ruine : So that it is no marvell if we see many Gentlemen whose education enabled them onely to use their senses and first thoughts, so dazled with the splendor of a Court, prepossessed with the affection of a Prince, or bewitched with some subdolous favour, That he chooseth rather any hazard then enchantment should be broke up. Others perhaps a degree above these, yet in respect of some Title stuck upon the Family (which hath

hath been as fortunate a myſterie of Kingship as any other) or in reverence to ſome glorious former achievements (minding not that in all theſe caſes the people are the onely effective means, and the King onely imaginary) they think they ſhould degenerate from bravery in bringing on a change. Others are with-held by ſloth and timorousneſſe , either not daring or unwilling to be happy ; ſome looking no further then their private welfare , indifferent for the multiplication of publick evils. Others (and theſe the worſt of all) out of pravity of nature ſacrificing to their ambition and avarice , and in order to that, following any power concurring with any Machinations, and upholding their Authours : whiſt Princes themſelves, (trained up in theſe Arts, or receiving them in Tradition) know how to wind all

their humours to their own advantage, now foisting in the Divinity of their Titles into Pulpits, now amazing the People with magnificencies and inter-ludes, now diverting their hot Spirits to some unprofitable forrain War (making way to their accursed ends of revenge or glory, with the effusion of that blood which should be as dear to them as their own :) Now stroaking the People with some feeble but enforced Law (for which notwithstanding they will be paid ;) and 'tis observed, the most notorious Tyrants have taken this course; Now giving up the eminentest of their Ministers (which they part with as indifferently as their Robes) unto the rage and fury of the People, so that they are commanded and condemned by the same mouth, and the credulous and ignorant believing their King let over

ver them, sit still, and by degrees grow into quiet and admiration, especially if lulled asleep with some small continuance of peace (be it never so unjust, unsound, or dangerous) as if the body politick could not languish of an internall disease, whilst its complexion is fresh and chearfull.

Those are the Reasons, which (if I conceive aright) have stupified the lesse knowing part of mankind. Now how the more searching part hath so odly miscarried, will fall under consideration.

First, then, we need not take the pains to demonstrate how easie a thing it is for men of acutenesse, not conversant in Civil things not onely to miscarry in the apprehension, but even in the judgement of them; for they in stead of bringing the ferries and reason of affairs into rule and method, use contrariwise to

measure them by their own presupposed speculation; and by that means become incapable of weighing rightly the various incidences and circumstances of businesses: For it is to be observed, that the Theorems of no Art or Profession are more easily found, or of difficulter practice, then those of Policy; so that it is no wonder if men meerly contemplative, fail so oft in the very laying of grounds, as we shall anon instance: now how fruitfull dainties are Errour and Absurdity, we all know. But more especially the contentions of contemplative men are most numerous, various and endlesse; for wrangling is with them an Art, and they are endued with that ungenerous shame never to acknowledge: Besides their principles are most times ill rivetted, and it is to be feared, that in their superstructions, they as often call in their
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imaginations, as their judgement to frame arguments. Besides, these men fighting onely with Pen, Ink, and Paper, seldome arrive at a means to decide the Quarrell, by which he that gains the last word is supposed Conquerour. Or the other leaves almost as inglorious a conquest to the Victor as if he had been overthrown

That which I would say from all this, is, that the generality of speculative men, for the most part guiding their understandings by those notions which they find in Books: fall not seldome by this means into considerable Errours: For all Books, those I mean that are humane, and fall directly under consideration, either lay down Practicall things, and observations of King-ship, or some generall and universall Notions, or else controversially *Assert Monarchy* against some opposers. Now in the two latter there are generally

found two grand and insupportable fallacies, the first whereof is, that they fraudulently converse in generals, and (to borrow the School-term) speak of that in the *Abstract*, which they should do in the *Concret*: As for example, where they should assert the particular right of this or that Prince, they cunningly or ignorantly lay out most of their discourse in generall about *Monarchy*, and not seldome weary and amaze the dispute, before they come to the true Ground and stating of the Quarrel, whereby the Readers diverted by such prepossession, and entangled by generall Notions of Authority, Power and Government, seldome descend into the consideration of particulars; where the great scruple and difficultie for the most part lies. So that any King (be his accessse to the Government never so fraudulent and

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unjustifiable) becomes to be look'd on as sacred Authoritative, and by degrees begins to blush at the Attributes of Sacred Majesty, Grace, and Highness; or any other Terms that the servile flattery and witty Barbarity of Courtiers can give unto them ; nay some even of the wicked *Roman* Emperours , could be content to be saluted with *Permissities* and *Divinities*, whereas if men would call their reasons into Council, they might find that these blazing Stars were opaque Bodies, and shone onely by reflection : These men having no more then either the Cabal of their own state and distance, or the wretched Imposition upon the People cast on them ; For would men divest the Authority from the Person, and then commonly find it inconsiderable, if not positively evil. And again, consider Authority in it self as a thing fixt, veritable,

ritable, immutable, and (when just-
 ly administred) sacred, they might
 find, that granting a Prince to be
 the most Regular Just-person in all
 the World, yet many men as good,
 joyned with him, and intrusted, and
 concurring to the same end, might
 do much more good ; and that to
 deny this, were to be as irrationall,
 as to deny that one] Person could do
 no good at all. But however, this I
 take to be certain and demonstrable
 out of their own Principles, that
 Kings being onely to be considered
 in respect of the trust and power that
 lies on them, a number of men by as
 just means (to say not better) inve-
 sted with the same trust and power,
 are every jot as sacred, and of as
 much divine right as any Monarch
 is (the power being essentially the
 same united or divided, as if a
 Commission be to one or three) it
 will then result, that republicks may
 be

be as Just and Authoritative, as King-ships, and then their radicall Argument of the *Jure Divino* of King-ship is wholly enfeebled, and the other rendred equally as Sovereign. And I am to note (but this is but transiently) the poornesse or to say better, the Blasphemy of that Argument, that flourishes out Kings as the Eclypes of Divinity, and vainly lavishes some Metaphysicks, to prove that all things have a naturall Tendencie to an *Onenesse*; nay, the itch of some merry wits, have carried them to run over most of the *Attribuies* (as some *English* Lawyers have talkt of the Legal, I must say phantasticall ubiquity and omniscience of our Kings, though we see the contrary, and some Civilians about the Emperour, have gone before them) whereas they should consider, that the immense simplicity of God flows out in its severall workings,

ings with ineffable variety, God being every-where and the same, or as the *Platonists* say, a Center in every part of his Circle, a Spirit without Quantity, Distance and Comprehension; whereas man is a determinate narrow thing, who doing one thing, ceaseth to do another; and thinking of one thing, is forc'd to quit his former thought. Now how fit he is to be a shade of this Archtype, let any judge, unlesse he could be refined from his corporeity, and enlarged into a proportionable immensity. Besides, I know not whether it be safe to think or no, That as God, who for the most part, suits men with gifts suitable to the places to which he calls them, would in some measure poure out his Spirit proportionate to these men, whereas as most commonly we find them, notwithstanding their extraordinary Advantages, of society, education and

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Business, as weak men as any other, and good Princes being swayed by the advice of men, good and wise, and the bad seduced by men of their own inclinations; what else are all Monarchies, but in reality *Optimacies* for a few only essentially govern, under the name of one who is utterly as unable as the meanest of those over whom hee claimes superiority.

The second Fallacy or paralogism is this, That men, while they Labour thus to support Monarchy tell us not what kind of Monarchy it is, and consequently gain nothing, although we should grant, them the former proposition to be true; For what does it avail to ascertain me of the Title of such a Prince, if I know not by what Title he holds, grant it were visible to me that such a man was marked out by providence to be my Governour,

vernour, yet if I cannot tell what kinde of one, whether absolute, mixt, limited, meerly Law-Executive, or first in order, how shall I know to direct my Obedience? if he be absolute, my very naturall liberty is taken away from me, nor doe I know any power can make any man such; The Scripture holding out just Limitations and restrictions to all Governours. If mixt and limited, I must know the due temperature and bounds, or else he may usurpe or be mistaken, and I oppressed or injured. If Law-Executive, the power fundamentally resides not in him, but in the great Counsell, or them intrusted by the people, then I adore onely a shadow: Now if any Prince of *Europe* can really clear up these mistes, and shew the lines of his Government drawn fairly, and his Charter whole and Authentick, like
that

that of *Venice* and the first *Rome*:
 For my part, Ile be the first man
 shall sweare him Allegiance, and
 the last that will preserve him. But
 you will finde that they will tell
 you in generall about their office,
 and in particular of their claimes of
 Succession, Inheritance and An-
 cestors, when look but three or
 foure stories back, and you will
 meet either some savage-unnatur-
 all Intrusion (disguiz'd under some
 forc'd Title or inexisttent Cognation)
 or else some violent alteration, or
 possibly some slender Oath or Ar-
 ticles hardly extorted and imper-
 fectly kept. Now if any man that
 will but run over these rules, and
 apply them to any History what-
 ever (as we shall exemplify in that
 which for the present we have
 pitcht upon) and not finde most
 Titles Ambiguous, the effects of
 former Monarchies (for where, in
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a Catalogue of forty Kings, can you almost shew me three good ones, but things meerly struggling to maintain their Titles and domestic Interest) ruinous to the people (who, for the most part, considering them no otherwise then as to be Rescued from violent Confusion, not as they conduce to the positive happinesse of a civil life) my small conversation in Books is extremely false: And truly I conceive it may be the rationallest course to set any judgement aright, because it instructs by experience and effects, and grounds the judgement upon materiall observation, and not blindly gropes after notions and causes, which to him are *Tantum non inscrutable*, But of that anon: A main mistake under this Topick, hath been an erroneous Comparison and application of matters Civil and Military; for
men

men observing that mixt Councils about Generals, Plurality, equality of Commands, often and sudden Military alterations, have brought on no small distempers and dangers to severall Governments and attempts; Therefore they presently collect, that in Civills also it is the safest to continue a Command in one hand for the preventing of the like disturbances: But here they are deceived, Civill matters consist in long debate, great consideration, patient expectation and wary foresight, which is better to be found in a number of choice experienced heads, then in one single one, whose youth and vigor of Spirit innables him rather to Action, and fills him with that noble Temerity, which is commonly so happy in Martial things, which must be guided alwayes to prevent occasions (which are seldom to be found

found again , and which , mistaken, are to scarcely amended) Besides the serocity of daring spirits , can hardly be bounded while they stand leuell, so that it is no wonder if they extinguish all emulations , by putting the power into the hands of one, whereas in the Citty, it is quite otherwise ; and Factions (unless they be Cruelly exorbitant) doe but poysie and ballance one another, and many times like the discord of humors upon the naturall Body, produce reall good to the Politicks. That slender conception, that nature seems to drels out a principality in most of her works, as among Birds. Bees , &c. is so slender (in regard they are no more chiefs then what they fancy them, but all their prepotency is meerly predatory or oppressive, and even Lyons , Elephants , Crocodiles and Eagles, have small inconsidera-
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be enemies, of which they stand in fear; and by which they are often ruined) that the Recitall confutes it; and if it were so, yet unless they could prove their *One* man to be as much more excellent as those are, and that solely, I see not what it would advantage them, since to comply with the designe of Nature in one, they would contrary it in others, where shee were equally concerned. But these Phylologicall and Rhetoricall Arguments, have not a little hindered the severer disquisition of reason and proposed the more easy mindes with notions so much harder to be layd aside, as they are more erroneous and pleasing.

These are the fundamentall errors that have misled the judgement; now those which have misguided the conscience, have principally proceeded from the mis-interpre-

preteration of Scripture, and there-
 fore seeming Sacred, have been less
 examined and doubted, as carrying
 the most authority. Thus in the
 old Testament, there being such fre-
 quent mention of Kings, which
 notwithstanding, were *Given in*
wrath, they superstitiously hold
 forth, not only the necessity, but the
 impunity of Kings, whereas wee
 know not their powers and limita-
 tions, and it is in consequentiall to
 argue, That because *Judea* was so
 governed, wee should follow the
 pateme, when we find neither pre-
 cept consequence, nor necessary con-
 vincing. And it is mad to think
 that while the Spirit of God so
 freely and vehemently exclaimes
 against the iniquities of men, that
 God would authorize it so far as
 to leave it in them unpunishable.
 As for the antiquity from *Adam*
 it is true, before his fall his domi-
 nion

nion was large and wide, but it
 was over the Beasts (that after his
 fall learned to rebel against him)
 and aconomically not despotically
 over his wife and children, But
 what is this to Civil Government?
 In the new Testament (for I the
 briefyer pass over this head, in re-
 gard it hath been so copiously
 treated upon by those under whose
 profession it falles, and that it doth
 not immediatly conduce to my de-
 signe) the principall hath been the
 meeknesse of Christ and his com-
 plyance with Civill powers, which
 certainly if he had been disposed to
 have resisted, he could as easily
 have overthrown, as with a few
 cords whip the buyers and sellers
 out of the Temple. But hee that
 was the wisdom of his Father, ra-
 ther thought fit to build up his
 Kingdom, which is never earthly,
 nor known of men of earth, in
 meeknes

meeknes and obedience to civill powers, which are perpetually changed and hurried at the will of the first mover, otherwise he would never have concerned himself so much in giving dues to *Caesar*, and to God, what is Gods; intimating the distinct obediences owing by all men, as Christians, and Citizens, when granting Monarchy, the most and the onely Lawfull Government, yet every one knoweth, that knoweth any thing of the Roman story, that *Augustus* had no more Title to that Government, then any of those over whom he usurped, and that his accessse to Government was as fraudulent and violent as could be. Another is the mistaking of the *Powers* *divinus*, when its clear, the Scripture speaketh of it in a latitude, as extending it to all established Governments. Now men have falsly assumed that
those

those powers were only meant of Kings; and what by an indiloreet collation of the places of the old, and violent restings of others of the new, they perfected the other grand mistake, which since it hath been already cleared up (and as we said is but collaterall with us for the present) we shall no further mention.

As for the allgaded examples and speeches of primitive times, I see not much in them considerable, for through insurrections against Princes cannot be produced, or rather much is said against them; we are to consider, that the Gospel of Christ (which was at that time not much defiled by the world) engages not to any Domination, but wholly taken up with its own exalties, spiritual delights and expectations, neglects all other affairs as strange and dangerous. And more over (though I
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know what hath been said to the contrary) I cannot finde (after consideration of those Ages) any probable ground how, if they would have risen, they could have Bodied. They were indeed numerous, but then they had Legionaries among them, and who knows not what an ineffectual thing a People is (be it never so desirous) when overawed by the Soldatesque: And they were a People (as greatness to God and man is different) not for their wordly power (for how few considerable Commanders were Converted in the first Ages?) but out of his own choice, so that it was not strange, if they could not do much. For God as he chose the weakest means in the planting of the Gospel, Fishermen; So, in the Primitive propagation he called the weaker men, though Christianity afterwards grew ample and August,

guft, and Kings were proud to give their names unto it.

As for the Fathers (granting them fice of their many Bastardizations, interpolations, and all those Errors and uncertainties which the process of time and fraud of men hath foysted into them) they are to be accepted as Witnesses, not as Judges, that is to say, they may prove matter of Fact, but none of their words matter of Right, especially if we consider their writings either Homilies, Commentaries, or controversies, which are ever directed to another end then this is, and they themselves (men seclused from Business) are so much more unable to judge and resolve Civill controversies (as this is) in regard the unhappiness of the latter Times hath produced many controversies: not know or thought of in their days,

which falling directly under their profession, cannot receive any light or Authority from them.

Having considered Kingship, how well it hath appeared through the false lights of understanding, we shall now consider, whether (taking it by it self) its foundations be laid upon a Cylinder or upon a Cube, and this me thinks we are the likeliest to do, if we consider them in their rights and uses, or to speak plainer; in their Legality and policy, so that if we finde that none of the wayes of the retaining of their Crowns can be Authentickall save one, and that one make against them, we shall finde we have no such just causes of blinde adoration or implicite enforcement to truckle under any of their Commands. And if again we discover that the Government it self is

not

not so profitable as to the end of Civil happiness, but rather Diametrically opposite to it, we may suppose that men are either strangely obstinate, or else they might eradicate an error, which not onely offers so many prejudices to their understanding, but hath such an evil influence upon their outward well being.

We have then to consider, that for *One* man to rule over *Many*, there must necessarily be some right, though it be but colourable; for either he must be chosen by the people as their Arbitrator and Supream Judge, or else he must by force of Arms invade them, and bring them to obedience, which he by force preserving for his Sons or Successors, makes way for a third claim, which is Inheritance. A fourth, some have invented, though were it real,

it is but a difference of the last, and I therefore shall mention it under that head. But to the Consideration.

First therefore Election, supposing the people either finding themselves unable to weyld their own happineſs, or for preventing of diſorder, make choice of one to be ſet over them, it here inſtantly followeth, that Authority is in the people, and flowing from them; for choice argues a power, and being choſen elected, a ſubordination to it, in the end, I mean, though not in every Act: Now there is none choſen but for ſome, end, or for ſome intentions reciprocal betwixt both parties, for otherwiſe ſuch a choice were but dotage, and conſequently invalid: Now thus it will follow that thoſe who pretend to King it upon this Topick, muſt either ſhew a
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formal Election, which I think many Kings are not able to do, or if he can shew one, the Conditions and ends for which he was chosen. Now all parts being either implicate or explained, let him produce the Covenant, that it may be known whether he govern according to it or not, for if he transgresseth, he forfeits, and the other are disobliged. If the agreement be unwritten or intentional, either party is relatively tyed, and then if he do any thing against the welfare of the people (that Sovereign Law and end of all Governments:) The people may not onely justly suppose the form capitulation broken, but even endeavour, by what possible means they can, to restore themselves to their former rights: for why should the making of a Compact prejudice any when it is once broken; And here

cometh in another fallacy, which the Assertors of Royalty have so flourished with, That an agreement between a people and one man, should inture, as the *English* Lawyers terme it, to his Descendants, when as it is to be considered, that the people choosng of one man, is commonly in consideration of his person and personal merit, which not being the same in his Son (as commonly Families in the Horizon are in the Meridian, the Founders being braver then any that follow after them) that very intent is frustrated and ceaseth, and the People providing for the happiness of a few years, which are determinable with uncertainty of the latter part of the life of one man, run themselves and their posterity into an eternal inconvenience (for any thing they know) of bad Governours; neither if the people would

would never so formally agree with him that in regard of his merits or felicity of actions, his Son should be received in that place, yet would they not do it, that very pact expiring with the life of either: For my Father may leave me notionally a slave in a Tenure (a thing frequently with our Ancestors) or as Civilians term it, it a Feodary, which I am content with, in respect of the advantage it brings me, or because my own estate is too little to be independent, and therefore I think it good prudence to be sheltered under the protection of the greater, but my naturall Liberty, that is to say, to make my life as justly happy and advantageous to me as I can, he can no more give away from me then my understanding or eyesight, for these are priviledges which God and Nature hath endued

dued me with, and these I cannot
 be denyed, but by him that will
 deny me a being. But to go on,
 Suppose a second Generation
 should accept the Son, and a
 third a Grandfire, yet this confirms
 not a fourth, and they very impo-
 litickly strengthen and confirm the
 power by continuance, and in a
 manner with their own hands lay
 the Foundation of absoluteness;
 their Governours themselves grow-
 ing in Interests, increasing in A-
 liances and gleaning Forces, so it is
 very improbable but within a little
 they grow to big and formidable,
 and leave nothing of the Liberty
 save the name and (if they be less
 cunning) not that. A pertinent ex-
 ample of this, it is so near us, that
 I cannot pass it, we see in young
Orange and the *Low Countries* at
 this day, who continuing his Pro-
 genitors for their signall services,
 and

and him for theirs, are now punished for their generous and indiscreet rewarding of vertue, that their Liberty was lately blown up before they well perceived it to be undermined, and they are at charge to maintain their own oppression. As for that formall election and stipulation, who sees not what a vain and ridiculous cheat it is, they coming with swords in their hands to demand the Scepter of a weak and stupid multitude that appears onely to gaze upon the Ceremonies, and whose refusal were ineffectual; but it is a gracious piece of the Caball of *Tyrannie* to deceive the People with Shadows, Fantasmies, and names of Liberty.

As for those that intrude in by force, they cannot certainly have a Fore-head to infer a right, they being but as the Pyrat said to

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dued me with, and these I cannot
 be denyed, but by him that will
 deny me a being. But to go on,
 Suppose a second Generation
 should accept the Son, and a
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 not a fourth, and they very impo-
 litickly strengthen and confirm the
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 genitors for their signall services,
 and

and him for theirs, are now punished for their generous and indiscreet rewarding of vertue, that their Liberty was lately blown up before they well perceived it to be undermined, and they are at charge to maintain their own oppression. As for that formall election and stipulation, who sees not what a vain and ridiculous cheat it is, they coming with swords in their hands to demand the Scepter of a weak and stupid multitude that appears onely to gaze upon the Ceremonies, and whose refusal were ineffectual; but it is a gracious piece of the Caball of *Tyrannie* to deceive the People with Shadows, Fantasmies, and names of Liberty.

As for those that intrude in by force, they cannot certainly have a Fore-head to infer a right, they being but as the Pyrat said to

Alexan-

Alexander, publique and more magnificent Robbers: certainly these are the *Nimrods*, the great Hunters, Gods scourges, and the burdens of the Earth; and whether they be Founders of Empires, or great Captains (as *Boccalini* distinguisheth them) ought rather to be remembered with horror and detestation, than that undue reverence which they commonly meet with.

But these are they that lay the foundations of Succession, and from these do the Successors claim, and enjoy with the lesse reluctance, Because the Regret of the violences and hate of the first, dayly wears out; whether it be by the continuance of Peace, that charms men into a love of ease, or that the continuance of slavery enfeebles their mindes, that they rather chose to look at their present enjoyment, than
reall

reall happinesse, so that it is not
 strange if the Person of their op-
 pressour become in time adorable,
 and he himself think that confirmed
 and justified to him in the proceffe
 of time, which in the beginning he
 had no right to. But if he will con-
 sider the businesse a little higher, we
 might find that since neither the
 People (as we have proved before)
 have power to make themselves
 Vassals, nor the Intruders them-
 selves cannot pretend any just title;
 their Domination is meerly illegall,
 and apt to be shaken off with the
 first conveniencie, it being every
 whit as equitable, that these men
 should be judged Enemies of man-
 kind, and condemned to die the
 death of Parricides for usurping a
 power, as *Nero* for mis-using it.
 But I would fain ask the *Regions*
Defenders, by what Law they can
 maintain Governments, to be inhe-
 rent

rent in one, and to be transmitted to his Off-spring? If they say by the Law of God, I would again demand how they can make this Law appear to me? If they say that the Scripture holds forth the right and sacreity of Kings, I ask them again, How they know that God extends that Priviledge and authority to this King; if they say, that he is involved in the generall right, they do but run into the Circle; unlesse they can show me, that all his approaches to Government were regular, and such as God was pleased with, or else God had by some signe and wonder declared his approbation of him; for without these two, they must make God an Authour of evil, which is impious, and pretend Commission for an unlawfull Act; and by the same right, any other may to an action never so unjust, it being no unusuall thing to borrow the

the face of Divinity, even upon some
foul impostures, (as to forbear fur-
ther instances) *Numa* his conference
with *Ageria*, *Scipio's* retirement
into the Capitol, and *Sertorius* his
white Hart.

Now, if they pretend the Law
of Nature, they must demonstrate
unto us, both that she endowed men
with unequall freedom, and that
she shaped out such a man to rule,
whereas it appears on the contrary,
that all men naturally are equall:
for though Nature with a Noble
variety hath made different the
Features and Lineaments of men,
yet as to freedom, till it be lost by
some externall means, she hath
made every one alike, and given
them the same desires. But suppose
she had intended such a Family for
Government, and had given them
some illustrious marks, as we read
of some had (whether by the ima-
gina-

gination of their mothers, or by deceit yet then would Nature fall into a double irregularity; first in deserting her method; in making all free; and secondly in making her generall work meerly subservient, and secondary to her particular, which how contrary it is to that beautifull harmony of hers, I need not much insist. Now if they say, they are Fathers of the People; as for that which they call themselves the Heads, inferring the People no more then a trunk, it's onely Metaphoricall, and proves nothing: for they must remember, that since Father hath a Correlative upon which it depends, & upon whose removall it vanisheth, they themselves cannot bring any such; for by Physicall procreation they will not offer it. And for Metaphoricall dependence it will come to nothing, we seeing People languish when their Princes
are

are fullest, and like Leeches, rather willing to burst then to fall off. And on the contrary the People upon the removall of a Prince, cheerfull and relieved. Now if there were such a strict union between these two, such a contrariety and antipathy could never appear: for certainly when any two persons endeavour to gain one upon another, there is an enmity what ever is pretended; besides, if these men would be Fathers, it were then their duty to do like Fathers, which is, to provide for, defend and cherish, whereas on the contrary, it is themselves that eat the bread out of the mouths of their Children, and through the groans of the poor. And whereas flattery hath said, that what they draw up in vapours they send down in showres, yet are we sure, such are for the most part unfruitfull, if not ominous and infectious: If they pretend the Law of Nations,

Nations, it were well, they would declare unto us at first what this Law is, and whether generally agreed on or no by Nations: if they say, yes, they must resolve whether explicirely or implicirely; if they say the former, let them produce them; if the latter, they must demonstrate, that all Nations are agreed in such and such Notions; now if all men of these Nations since every one must be of equal capacity; when on the contrary, though the understandings of most men whom we know or have conversed with, seem to flee to some generall Maximes (yet unpolished, unnumbered, and unmethodized) yet we see many Nations differing from us in many things, which we think clearly, fundamentally and naturally true, neither do climate and education onely so diversifie the minds of men, but even their understandings,

ings, and the different wayes of thinking so distinguish them, though of one Countrey, that though we may please our selves in thinking that all mens thoughts follow the Fantastickall method of ours, yet we might find, if we were perfectly conversant with all men of the world, and well read in their wits (as we are not with half of them, no, nor any one man with the twentieth part) that there are scarce four or five axioms would be universally received. Now (for I have been the longer in this, by reason that this imaginary Law hath been so held up by the Civilians, and made the subterfuge of so many considerable disputes) if it be so weak as that we can scarce tell whether it be or no, for even that which we account the most sacred piece of it, the violation of publick Messengers, the *Tartar* and *Muscovite*, unlesse withheld

withheld by fear, break it every day) What are the Arguments deducted from it ? or if there were such a Law, what would it avail such a particular man, for why should other Nations impose a Governour were they are not concerned ; and if they pretend this Law, as to the preservations and impunity of their persons, the same Answer will serve again, with this addition, That they make an offender incapable of punishment, it is but to give them a Commission to offend : Now if they run upon that distinction of Suspending onely, and not punishing (as if forsooth this kind of people must be preserved, though by the ruine of mankind, to immediate vengeance) Now, I say, That Suspension is really a punishment, and if his demerits can deserve that, I see not but that upon a proportionable increase, they may deserve De-

Dethronization or Death, as clearly as two and two make four, and four make eight. If they alledge Positive or municipall Laws, and number *Homages*, they are not much the nearer, since that all such Laws are but Rivulets and Branches of those we before examined; and since we found that those speak so little in their favour, that which these do, cannot signifie much, especially since Princes, who are ever watchiull to prevail themselves of all occasions of this nature, can either by terror or artifice draw assemblies or the major part, to their own Lure; nay, even the worst of them have not forgot to be solicitous in this case: but it must be set down, That whatsoever positive Laws are repugnant to those generall, they are injurious, and ought to be repealed: And truly it is a sad observation, that as Monarchs grow, either out of the weak-

weaknesse of Government, and (as I may say) pupillage, as *Romulus* and *Theseus* did at *Rome* and *Athens*, or else out of the dileate or depravation of them, as *Cesar* again invaded *Rome*, so have the people been never more enamoured of them. then when manners were at the highest corruption, which ever gave accessse of strength to them; nor have they more distasted them, then when their Spirits and Discipline were the most brave and healthfull; so fatally disagreeing are true Liberty, which is the very source of Virtue and Generosity, and the impotent Domination of a Single Tyrant , who commonly Raige by no other means, then the discords of braver Citizens, who can neither indure Equality or Superiority among themselves, and rather admit a generall Vassalage, then just equality, or the vices of the baser, which

which reconcile them and concern them in a bad example. But suppose Succession a thing sacred and inviolable, yet once break and interrupt it, it is little worth, either the Usurper being to be acknowledged regular, or the whole Series dash'd out of order : Nay, we see Aspirers themselves, either so blinded with their pretences, or with animosity, so crying their own up, that it is almost impossible for any private judgement to do right in this case, themselves thwarting one another, and it not being in the power of nature that both should be right : But who can instance one Monarch, whose Crown is come to him by untainted Succession? and what History will not confirm the Example, I shall anon bring : Certainly though Succession were a thing that had not so little reason or being, yet I see not why men should with such

a strange pertinacy defend it : Mat-
ters of Government ought to be
governed by prudence, but this is to
put them into the hands of Fortune,
when a Child incapable or infirm,
under the Regiment of a Nurie,
must (possibly) be Supreme Go-
vernour, and those whom either
their Abilities or vertues fit for it,
Subordinate or laid aside. But what
if the person whom Necessity hath
set at the Stern, be incapable, Lu-
matick, Weak or Vicious, is not this
a good way to prevent Controver-
sies ? with all this enervates all
good Council, when a King should
have need of Tutors, and that a
mass of people should be com-
manded by one who commands not
himself, and when we scarce obey
even excellent Princes, to adore that
dowd and weak ones.

As for *Barbours* distinction of
successive, wherein the next Heir
must

must necessarily succeed out of the Originall right of the former, I would ask him, whether the Predecessour were a Possessor or usufructuary; if the former, all our former Arguments fall on him; if the latter, it makes not for his Successour, the people being owners; and besides, the distinction is one of his own Coyning, never pretended before, upon the first controversie it is invalid, although the first founder had a right, as we have proved the contrary.

Having with what brevity I could, brought to an end my first intention. I shall now fall upon the second, which is the intrinsecal value and expediency of this Government, and some little comparison with others; but herein we shall be short, and onely so far as concerns this: And indeed it is a business so ticklish, that even Mr. *Hobs* in his *de Cive*, though he assured himself

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that

that the rest of his Book (which is principally erected to the assertion of Monarchy) is demonstrated, yet he doubts whether the Arguments which he brings to this businesse be so firm or no ; And *Malvezzi* contrarily remonstrates (in his discourses upon *Tacitus*) that Optimacies are clearly better then Monarchies, as to all advantages. And indeed if we look on their Arguments, they are either Flourishes, or meerly Conceptions, such are the reference and perfection of an Unity, which must needs work better and more naturally, as one simple cause (besides that it stills and restrains all other claims) then many co-ordinate, whereas they never consider that though among many joynt Causes, there may be some jarring, yet like crosse wheels in an Engine, they tend to the regulation of the whole ; What violent mischiefs are brought in by the contentions of
 Preten-

Pretenders, Ambiguities of Titles, and lawlesse ambition of Aspirers, whereas in a settled Republick all this is clear; and in case any particular man aspire, they know whom to joyn against and punish as a Common Enemy. As for that which alledges the advantage of lesse in businesse, it carries not much with it, in regard that under that even most pernicious designs may be carryed on; and for wholesome counsels (Bating some more nice Transactions) it matters not how much they be tost, among those who are so much entrusted and concerned in them, all crosse Designs being never in probability so feeble and ineffectuall, as when there are many eyes to over look them, and voyces to decry them. As for that expedition in which they say Monarchs are so happy, it may as well further a bad intention, as

give effect to a just Councell, it depending on the judgement of a single man, to whose will and ends all must refer; whereas a select number of Entrusted persons may hasten every opportunity with a just slownesse as well as they, though indeed (unless it be in some Military Criticall minuts) I see not such an excellency in the swiftnesse of heady dispatch, precipitation in Councils being so dangerous and Ominous. As for what concerns private Suitors, they may as (if not more) speedily and effectually be answered in staid Re-publicks, as in the Court of a King, where Bribery and unworthy Favourites do not what is just, but what is desired.

With these and many others as considerable, which partly willingly, and partly in this penury of Books, forgettingly I passe, do they intend to strengthen this fantastick
and

and airy building; but as sly Controversers, many times leave out the principall Text or Argument, because should it be produced it could not be so easily answered; so these men tell us all the advantages of Monarchy, supposing them still well settled, and under men virtuous, but you shall never hear them talk of it, *in Statu corrupto*, under lewd Kings and unseled Laws; they never let fall a word of the dangers of Inter-reigns, the minorities and vices of Princes, Misgovernments, evil Councils, Ambitions, Ambiguities of Titles, and the Animosities and Calamities that follow them, the necessary Injustices and Oppressions by which Monarchs (using the peoples wealth and blood against them) hold them fast in their seats, and by some suspension of Divine Justice die not violently.

Whereas, other Governments e-

established against all these evils, be-
 ing ever of vigour and just age set-
 tled in their own right, freed from
 pretences, served by experienced and
 engaged Councils, and (as nothing
 under the Moon is perfect) some-
 times gaining and advantag'd in
 their Controversies, which have not
 seldome (as we may see in old *Rome*)
 brought forth good Laws and Aug-
 mentations of Freedom, whereas
 once declining from their purity and
 vigour; and (which is the effect of
 that) ravisht by an Invader, they
 languish in a brutish servitude (Mo-
 narchy being truly a disease of Go-
 vernment) and like Slaves, stupid
 with harshness and continuance of
 Slavery, wax old under it, till they
 either arrive at that period which
 God prescribes to all people and
 Governments, or else better Stars
 and Nephews awaken them out of
 that Lethargy, and restore them to
 their

their Pristine Liberty , and its Daughter happineffe.

But this is but to converse in Notions, wandering, and ill abstract from things, let us now, descend into practickall observation, and clearly manifest out of the whole Series of Time and Actions, what circumstances and events have either ushered or dog'd one race of Kings, That if there were all the justice in the world, that the Government of a Nation should be entailed upon one Family, yet certainly we could not grant it to such an one, whose Criminall lives and formidable deaths, have been evidences of Gods wrath upon it for so many Generations.

And since no Countrey that I know, yields such an illustrious example of this as *Scotland* does, and it may be a charity to bring into the way such as are misled, I have pitch-

ed upon the Scottish History, where-
 in as I have onely consulted their
 own Authours, as my fittest wit-
 nesses in this case; So have I (not
 as a just History, but as far as con-
 cerns this purpose) faithfully and as
 far as the thing would permit, with-
 out glosses represented it, so that a-
 ny calm understanding may deduce
 that the vengeance which at the pre-
 sent is levell'd against the Nation, is
 but an attendant of this new intro-
 duc'd Person, and that he himself,
 though for the present he seems a
Clog among his *Frogs*, and suffer
 them to play about him, yet God
 will suffer him (if the English Army
 prevent not) to turn *Stork* and de-
 vour them, while their cries shall
 not be heard, as those that (in dis-
 pight of the warning of Providence,
 and light of their own reasons, for
 their own corrupt Interest & greedy
 Ambition) brought these miseries
 upon themselves.

THE



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THE
I N S T A N C E

Out of the

Scottish History,

Which is the Second Part.

ANd now we come to our
main businesse, which is
the review of Story,
wherein we may find
such a direct and uninterrupted Se-
ries, such mutuall Endearments be-
tween Prince and People, and so
many of them crowned with happy
Reigns and quiet Deaths (two toge-
ther scarce dying naturally) that we
may conclude, that they have not

D 5 onely

onely the most reason, but a great deal of excellent Interest, who E-
 spouse the Person and Quarrell of
 the hopefull descendant of such a
 Family; nor shall we be so injurious
 to the glory of a Nation, proud
 with a Catalogue of Names and
 Kings, as to expunge a great part of
 their number; though some who
 have done it affirm, There can be no
 probability that they had any other
 being then what *Hector Boyes*, and
 the black Book of *Pasley* (out of
 which *Buchanan* had most of his
 materials) bestow on them, there
 being no mention of the name of
 Scot in any Authentick Writer, till
 Four hundred years after Christ:
 No, we shall no more envy these
 old *Heroes* unto them, then their
 placing the red Lion in the Dexter
 point of their *Escutcheon*: But
 though we might in justice reject
 them as Fabulous and Monkish,
 yet

yet since themselves acknowledge them, and they equally make against them, we shall run them over like veritable *History*: The first of this blessed race was *Fergus*, first Generall, and afterward got himself made King, but no sooner cast away on the coast of *Ireland*, but a contention arises about the validity of their Oath to him, and Uncles are appointed to succeed, which argues it Elective; so *Feritharis* Brother to *Fergus* is King, but his Nephew enters a Conspiracy against him, forces him to resigne and flie to the Isles, where he died. *Feritharis* dying soon after, was suspected to be poisoned: after him comes in *Main* (*Fergus* second sonne) who with his sonne *Dornadilla* reigned quietly fifty seven years. But *Rumber* his sonne, not being of age, the people make his Uncle *Nothar* take the Government.

ment, but he misruling, *Ranthor*, by the help of one *Donalms*, raised a party against him and beheads him; makes himself King with the indignation of the People that he was not elected, so that by the kindred of *Norbat* he is fought with, taken and displaced, but afterward makes a party and regains: His son *Therem* was too young, so that his Brother *Rbantba* succeeded, but after seventeen years was glad to resigne. Well, *Therem* reigns, but after six years declines to such lewdness that they force him to flie, and govern by a Prorex after his death; *Josina* his Brother, and his Son *Finan* are Kings, and quietly die so.

But then comes *Durft*, one who slaies all the Nobility at a Banquet, and is by the People slain; after his death the validity of the Oath to *Fergus* is called in question, and

and the elective power vindicated;
 but at length *Even* his brother is
 admitted, who though he ruled va-
 liantly and well, yet he had *Gillus*
 a bastard Son, *Vaser & Regni*
Cupidus: The next of the line are
 two Twins *Doeham* and *Dorgall*
 (sons of *Durst*) they while they
 disputed of priority of age, are by
 the artifice of *Gillus* slain in a tur-
 mult; who makes a strong party,
 and seizing of a Hold, sayes he was
 made Supervisor by his Father, and
 so becomes King, cuts off all the
 race of *Durst*, but is after sore'd
 out of the Kingdom, and taken by
Even the second his Successor (who
 was chosen by the People) and by
 him put to death in *Ireland*; after
Even comes *Eder*; after *Eder* his son
Even the third, who for making a
 Law, that the Nobility should have
 the enjoyment of all new married
 women before they were touched
 by

by their husbands, was doomed to prison during his life & there strangled; his Successor was his Kinsman *Metellan*; after whom was elected *Caratac*, whom his brother *Corbret* succeeded; but then came *Dardan* (whom the Lords made take on him the Government, by reason of the nonage of *Corbress* son) who for his lewdness was taken by the People and beheaded.

After him *Corbret* the second, whose Son *Lustac* for his lewdness was by the People put to death; then was elected *Mogald*, who following his vitious Predecessors steps, found his death like theirs, violent.

His Son *Conar* one of the Conspirators against him succeeded but mis-governing, was clapt in Prison and there dyed.

Erbodius his Sisters son succeeded, who was slain in the night
in

in his Chamber by his Piper.

His Son being a Minor, *Satrael* his brother was accepted, who seeking to place the succession in his own line, grew so hatefull to the People, that not daring to come abroad, he was strangled in the night by his own servants, which made way for the youngest Brother.

Denald, who out-did the others vices by contrary vertues, and had a happy reign of one and twenty years.

Estodius the second, Son of the first of that name was next, a dull un-active Prince, *Familiarum tumultu occisus*.

His Son *Athirca* promised faire, but deceived their expectations with most horrid lewdness, and at length vitiated the daughters of *Nathalee* a Nobleman, and caused them to be whipt before his eyes, but

but seeing himself surrounded by Conspirators, eluded their fury with his own sword; his Brother and Children being forced to flee to the *Picts*. *Nathalac* turning his injury into ambition made himself King, and governed answerably, for he made most of the Nobility to be strangled, under the pretence of calling them to Councell, and was after slain by his own servants.

After his death, *Athires's* children were called back, and *Finder* his son, being of excellent hopes, accepted; who made good what his youth promised; he beat in sundry Battels *Donald* the Islander, who seeing he could not prevail by force, sent two, as Renegadoes, to the King, who (being not accepted) conspire with his Brother, by whose means one of them slew him with a hunting spear when he was a hunting. His

His brother *Donald* succeeds (the youngest of the three) who about to revenge his Brothers death hears the Islander is entred *Murray*: whom he encountering with unequal forces, is taken prisoner with thirty of the Nobility, and whether of grief, or his wounds, dyes in Prison.

The Islander, that had before assumed the name, now assumed the power (the Nobles, by reason of their kindred prisoners, being overawed) this man wanting nothing of an exquisite Tyrant, was, after twelve years Butcheries, slain by *Crathern* son of *Findor*, who under a disguise found address and opportunity. The brave Tyrannicide was universally accepted, and gave no cause of repentance, his Reign is famous, for a War begun between the *Scots* and *Picts* about a Dog (as that between the *Trojans*.

jans and Italians for a white Hart) and the defect on of *Caranfius* from *Dioclesian* which happened in his time.

His Kinsman *Fyncormach* succeeded, worthy of memory for little but the piety of the *Culdys* (an order of Religious men of that time overborn by others succeeding) hee being dead, three sonnes of his three brothers contended; *Romach* as the eldest strengthened by his alliance with the *Picts*, with their assistance seized on it, forcing others to fly, but proving cruell, the Nobility conspired and slew him.

Angusian, another pretender, succeeds who being assailed by *Ne-
tham* King of the *Picts*, who came to revenge *Romach*, routed his Army in a pitch battel, but *Netham* coming again he was routed and both he and *Netham* slaine.

Teibelmach, the third pretender
came

came next, who beating the *Picts*,
and wasting their fields; *Hergust*
when he saw there could be no ad-
vantage by the sword, suborned
two *Picts* to murder him, who
drawing to conspiracy, the Piper
that lay in his Chamber (as the
manner was then) he at the ap-
pointed time admitted them, and
there slew him.

The next was *Even* son of *Fin-
cormac*, who was slain in a Battell
with the *Picts*, to the almost extir-
pation and banishment of the *Scots*;
but at the last the *Picts* taking di-
staste at the *Romans* entered into a
secret League with the *Scots*, and
agreed that *Fergus*, (whose Uncle
the last King was) being then in
banishment, and of a Militari
breeding and inclination should be
chosen King: with him the *Danes*
maintained a long War with the
Romans, and pulled down the
Picts

Picts wall, at last he and the King
 of Picts were in one day slain in a
 battell against them; This mans ac-
 cels to Government was strange,
ignotus Rex ab ignoto populo acceptus,
 and may be thought remera-
 rious; he having no Land for his
 People, and the *Roman* Name in-
 imicall, yet founded he a Monar-
 chy, there having been Kings ever
 since; and we are to note, this is
 the first man that the sounder writ-
 ers will allow to be reall and not
 fabulous. Him succeeded his son
Eugenius (whose Grandfather *Gra-*
ham had all the power) a War-
 like Prince whom some say slain,
 some dead of a disease. After him
 his Brother *Dungard*, who after the
 spending of five superstitious years,
 left the Crown (as they call it) to
 his youngest Brother *Constantine*,
 who from a good private man
 turned a lew Prince, and was slain
 by

by a Nobleman, whose daughter he had ravished; he was succeeded by *Congall Constantines* son, who came a tolerable good Prince to a loose people, and having spent some two and twenty years in flight excursions against the *Saxons*, left the rule to his Brother *Gorian*, who notwithstanding he made a good League against the *Britains*, which much conduced to his and the Peoples settlement, yet they in requital, after thirty four years, made away with him; which brought in *Eugenius* the third of that name, the son of *Congall*, who was strongly suspected to have a hand in his death, insomuch that *Gorans* widow was forced to flee into *Ireland* with her children: This man in thirty three years time did nothing but Reign, and make short incursions upon the Borders; he left the rule to his Brother *Congall*, a Monastical,

naftical, Superftitious and unactive Prince, who Reigned ten years. *Kynnatell* his Brother was defigned for Succellor, but *Aydan* the fon of *Goran* laid his claimes, but was content to fufpend in refpect of the age and difeafes of *Kynnatell*, which after fourteen moneths took him out of the world and cleared the Controverfie, and *Aydan* by the confent of *Columba* (a Priest that Governed all in thofe dayes) came to be King; a man that after thirty four years turbulently fpent, being beaten by the Saxons and ftruck with the death of *Columba* dyed of grief.

After him was chofen *Kenneth*, who hath left nothing behinde him but his name. Then came *Eugenius* the fourth, fon of *Aydan* (fo irregular is the Scots fucceffion that we fee it inverted by ufurpation or crofs elections in every two or three
Gene-

Generations) this man left an ambiguous fame, for *Hektor*, sayes he was peaceable, the Manuscript implacably severe, he Reigned sixteen years, and left his sonne *Ferchard* Successour, who endeavouring to heighten the Prerogative by the dissensions of the Nobility, was on the contrary impeached by them, and called to an account, which he denying was clapt in Prison, where he himself sayed the Executioner a labour : So that his Brother *Donald* succeeded, who being taken up with the Piety of those dayes, left nothing memorable, save that he in Perlon interpreted *Scots* Sermons unto the Saxons : He was followed by his Nephew *Ferchard*, sonne of the first of that name, a thing like a King in nothing but his exorbitancies, who in hunting was wounded by a Wolf, which cast him into a Fever, whereia he not observing
the

the imposed Temperance, brought upon himself the lowlie disease, upon which discomforted, he was by the perswasion of *Colmas* (a Religious man) brought out in his bed covered with Hair-cloth, where he made a publick acknowledgment to the People, and soon after died. *Aladwin*, *Donalds* son followed, who after a twenty years ignoble Reiga was strangled by his Wife. *Eugenius* the Fifth succeeded, son (they say) of King *Dengard*, though the Chronologie seem to refute it: This man spent five years in flight insurrections, and was succeeded by *Eugenius* the Sixt, son of *Ferchard*: This man is famous for a little learning, as the times went; and the prodigie of raining of blood seven dayes, all *Lactiscinis* turning into blood. *Amberkellin* nephew to *Eugenius* the Fifth, succeeded this rude Prince, while he was discharging the

the burden of Nature, was slain by an arrow from an unknown hand. *Eugenius* the Seventh followed; who being attempted by Conspirators, had his new-married Wife slain in bed beside him; for which he being accused produced the murderers before his triall, and was acquitted, and so ended the rest of his 17. years in peace, recommending unto the People *Mordack*, son of *Amberkelleth*, who continuing a blank raigne, or it may be a happy one, in regard it was peaceable, left it to *Esfyn*, son of *Eugenius* the seventh; the first part of his reigne was peaceable; but Age obliging him to put the Government into the hands of four of his servants, it hapned to him, as it doth to other Princes, whose fortunes decay commonly with their strength, that it was very unhappy and turbulent: Which miseries, *Eugenius* the
E Eighth,

Eighth, son of *Mordach* restrained;
 but he it seems, having a nature fit-
 ter to appease tumults, then to enjoy
 rest, at the first enjoyment of peace,
 broke into such lewdnesse, that the
 Nobility at a meeting stabb'd him,
 and made way for *Fergus* the sonne
 of *Erfyn*, one like his Predecessour
 in manner, death, and continuance
 of reigne, which was three years;
 the onely dissimilitude was, that the
 latter's Wife brought his death; for
 which, others being impeached, she
 steps in and confessed it, and
 to elude punishment, punished
 her self with a knife. *Solwath*, son
 of *Ergenian* the Eighth, followed
 him, who though his gout made
 him of lesse Action, yet it made his
 prudence more visible, and himself
 not illaudable, his death brought in
Asbath the son of *Erfyn*, whose reign
 was innobled with an *Irish* War,
 and many learned men, besides the
 affj-

assistance, lent *Albanus* to fight a-
 gainst the *Northumbrians*, whom
 he beat in famous battell; which (if
 I may mention the matter) was
 prefignified to *Albanus* in a dream;
 Saint *Andrew* appearing to him,
 and assuring him of it, and in the
 time of the battell; a white Crosse,
 (that which the Heraulds call a Sal-
 tier, and we see commonly in the
 Scots Banners) appeared in the Sky;
 and this I think to have been the
 occasion of that bearing, and an
 order of Knights of Saint *An-
 drew*, sometimes in reputation in
Scotland; but extinguished for ought
 I can perceive, before the time of
James the Sixth; though the Collar
 and Pendent of it are at this day
 worn about the Scots Arms. To
 this man *Congal* his Cousin suc-
 ceeded, who left nothing behind
 him but five years to stretch out the
 account of time. *Dungal* the son of

Solnath came next, who being of a nature fierce and insupportable, there was an endeavour to set up *Alpine* son of *Achaisus*, which designe by *Alpine* himself was frustrated, which made the King willing to assist *Alpine* in his pretension to the Kingdome of *Picts*, in the which attempt he was drowned, and left unto *Alpine* that which he before had so nobly refused, who making use of the former raised an Army, beat the *Picts* in many signall Victories; but at last was slain by them, leaving his name to the place of his death, and the Kingdome to his son *Kenneth*. This man seeing the People broken with the late War, and unwilling to fight, drew on by this subtilty, invites the Nobility to dinner, and after plying them with drink till midnight, leaves them sleeping on the floor (as the manner was) and then hang-

hanging Fish-skins about the wals
of the Chamber, and making one
speak through a trunk, and call
them to Warre : they waking, and
half asleep, supposed something of
Divinity to be in it, and the next
morning, not onely consented to
War, but (so strange is deluded
imagination,) with unspeakable
courage fell upon the Enemy, and
put them to the rout : which being
confirmed by other great Victories,
utterly ruined the *Pictish* Name.
This man may be added to the two
Ferguses, and truly may be said to
be the Founder of the *Scots* Em-
pire, not onely in making that the
middle of his Dominion, which
was once the bounds : But in con-
firming his conquests with good
Laws, having opportunitie of a
long peace which was Sixteen years,
his whole time of Government be-
ing Twenty. This was he that pla-

old that Stone, famous for that illu-
 sory Prophecie, *Ni fallat futurum* &c.
 (which first was brought out of
 Spain and Ireland, and from thence
 to Argyll) at Soown; where he put
 it in a Chair, in which all his Suc-
 cessours (till Edward the First
 brought it away) were crowned,
 and since that, all the Kings of
 England, till the happineffe of our
 Common-wealth made it uselesse.
 His Brother *Donald* was his Succes-
 sor, a man made up of extremities
 of virtues and vices, no man had
 more bravery in the field, nor more
 vice at home, which increasing with
 his years, the Nobility put him in
 prison, where either for fear or scorn,
 he put an end to his dayes, leaving
 behind him his brother *Constantine*,
 a man wanting nothing of him but
 his vices, who struggling with a po-
 tent Enemy, (for the *Picts* had cal-
 led in the *Danes*) and driving them
 much

much into despair (a bravery that hath not seldome ruin'd many excellent Captains) was taken by them , put into a little Cave , and there slain . He was succeeded by *Esbu* his brother , who had all his eldest brothers vices , and none of his seconds virtues ; Nature it seems , making two extremes , and a middle in the three Brethren : This man voluptuous and cowardly , was forced to resigne ; or , as others say , died of wounds received in a Duell from his Successour , who was *Gragary* son of *Dougal* , who was not onely an excellent man , but an excellent Prince , that both recovered what the others had lost , and victoriously traversed the Northern Counties of *England* , and a great part of *Ireland* , whose King a Minor , and in his power , he generously made no advantage of , but settled his Country , and provided faithfull and a-

ble Guardians for him. These things justly yield him the name of Great : *Donald*, son of *Constantine* the second, by his recommendation, succeeded in his power and virtues, notwithstanding some say he was removed by poyson : Next was *Constantine* the third, son of *Ethus*, an unstable person, who assisted the *Danes*, which none of his Predecessours would do, and after they had deserted him basely, yet yielded them succours, consisting of the chief of the *Scots* Nobility, which with the whole *Danish* Army were routed by the *Saxons* ; this struck him so, that he retired amongst the *Caldys* (which were as the Greek Caloyers, or Romish Monks at this day) and there buried himself alive : After him was *Milcom*, son of *Donald* the third, who though a good Prince, and well skill'd in the arts of peace, was slain by a Conspiracy

spiracy of those to whom his virtue
 was burthensome: His Successour
 was *Judulf* (by what title I find not)
 who fighting with the *Danes*, that
 with a Navy unexpectedly came
 into the *Frith*, was slain: *Duffe*
 his son succeeds, famous for an acci-
 dent, which if it be true, seems near-
 ly distant from a fable; He was
 suddenly afflicted by a sweating
 disease, by which he painfully lan-
 guish'd, yet no body could find the
 cause, till at last a Girl, that had
 scattered some words after torments,
 confessed that her mother and some
 other women, had made an Image
 of wax, which, as it wasted, the
 King should waste, by sweating
 much; the place being diligently
 searched, it was found accordingly;
 so the Image being broke, he in-
 stantly recovered: That which dis-
 turbed his five years Reign, was
 the turbulency of the Northern peo-
 ple,

ple, whom, when he had seduced and taken, with intent to make exemplary punishment. *Donald* the Commander of the Castle of *Farrisse*, where he then lay, interceded for some of them, but being repulsed, and exasperated by his wife, after he had made all his servants drunken, flew him in his bed, and buried him under a little bridge, (lest the cutting of turfs might bewray a grave) near *Kilross* Abbey; though others say, he turned aside a River, and after he had buried him, suffered it to take its former Channel; *Indulge* the son of *Indulge*, by the Election of Parliament, or Convention of People succeeded, good only in this one Action of inquiring and punishing his Predecessors death, but after, by the neglect of Discipline, and the exquisiteness of his vices, became a monster, and so continued three years, till being

being weakened and exhausted in his body, and vext with perpetuall diseases, he was summoned by the Parliament, and in the way, was slain by a *Thane* (so they then called Lieutenants of Counties) whose daughter he had ravished.

Then came *Kenneth*, brother to *Duff* (though the forepart of his Reign was totally unlike his) who being invaded by the *Danes*, beat them in that famous battel, which was won by three *Mayes*, husband-men (from whom all the *Mayes* now give three shields gules) who with their Sythes reinforced the lost battel, but in his latter time he lost this reputation, by poisoning *Malcolm* some of *Duff*, to preserve the Crown for a son of his name, though of lesse merit (for sayes *Bucchanan*, *They use to chuse the fittest, not the worst*) which being done, he got ordained in a Parliament, that the
 Suc-

Succession should be lineall, the
 Son should inherit, and be called
 Prince of *Scots*; and if he were a
 minor, be governed by some wise
 man (here comes the pretence of
 Succession, whereas before it was
 clearly Elective) and at fifteen, he
 should choose his Guardian him-
 self; But the Divine vengeance,
 which seldome, even in this life, pas-
 ses by murder, overtook him; for
 he was insnared by a Lady, whose
 son he had caused to be executed,
 and slain by an arrow out of an
 ambush she had laid, *Constantine*
 the son of *Culen*, notwithstanding
 all the artifice of *Kenneth*, by his
 reasoning against the Act, perswa-
 ded most of the Nobility to make
 him King, to that *Milcolm* the son
 of *Kenneth* and he made up two
 factions, which tore the Kingdome,
 till at length *Milcoms* Bastard Bro-
 ther (himself being in *England* as-
 sisting

sisting the *Danes*) fought him routed
 his Army, and with the losse of
 his own life, took away his, they
 dying of mutuall wounds. *Grime*,
 of whose birth they do not certainly
 agree, was chosen by the *Constantinians*,
 who made a good party, but at
 intercession of *Forard* (an
 accounted Rabbi of the times) they
 at last agreed, *Grime* being to enjoy
 the Kingdome for his life, after
 which *Milcolumb* should succeed,
 his fathers Law standing in force;
 but he after declining into lewdnesse,
 cruelty and spoil (as Princes drunk
 with greatnesse and prosperity use
 to do) the people called back *Mil-*
columb, who rather receiving battel
 then giving it (for it was upon A-
 scention day, his principall Holy-
 day) routed his Forces, wounded
 himself, took him, pulled out his
 eyes, which altogether made an
 end of his life, all factions and
 bu-

humours being reconciled.

Miloslumb, who with various Fortune fought many signall Battels with the *Danes*, who under their King *Sveno* had invaded in his latter end he grew to inch Covetousness and Oppression, that all Antours agree he was murdered, though they disagree of the manner; some say, by Confederacy with his servants; some, by his Kinsmen and Competitors; some, by the friends of a maid, whom he had ravished. *Donald* his Grandchild succeeded, a good natur'd and unactive Prince, who with a Stratagem of sleepy drink, destroyed a *Danish* Army that had invaded and distressed him, but at last being insuaded by his Kinsman *Mackbeth* (who was pricked forward by Ambition, and a former vision of three women of a Sour-humane Shape, whereof one seduced him, *Thane of Angus*, another

ther of *Murmay* the third King) he was beheaded.

The severity and cruelty of *Macbeth* was so known, that both the sons of the murdered King were forced to retire, and yield to the times, whilest he courted the Nobility with largesses : The first ten years he spent virtuously, but the remainder was so savage and Tyrannicall, that *Macduff* Thane of Fife fled into *England* to *Malcolm*, son of *Donald*, who by his persuasions, and the assistance of the King of *England*, entered *Scotland*, where he found such great accessions to his party, that *Macbeth* was forced to fly, his death is hid in a such a mist of *Fables*, that it is uncertainly known.

Malcolm, the third of that name, now being quietly seated, was the first that brought in those gay inventions and distinctions of *Honours*,

nours, Dukes , Marqueſſes (that now are become ſo ayery, that ſome carry them from places , to which they have as little relation as any, as *Iſland* in *America*, and other from Cottages and Dovecoats) his firſt trouble was *Forſay Mackbeths* ſon, who claimed the Crown, but was ſoon after cut off : ſome war he had with that *William*, whom we call falſly the Conquerour, ſome with his own People, which, by the Interceſſion of the Biſhops, were taken up : At length, quarrelling with our *William* the ſecond, he laid Siege to *Alnwick* Caſtle, which being forced to extremity, a Knight came out with the Keys on a Spear, as to preſent them to him, and yield the Caſtle , but he not with due heed receyving them, was runne through the eye and ſlain ; ſome from hence derive the name of *Pitcy* (how truly I know not) his ſonne

sonne and Successour *Edward* following his revenge too hotly, received some wounds, of which, within a few dayes, he died.

Donald Bane (that is white) who had fled into the Isles for fear of *Mackbeth*, promised them to the Kings of *Norway*, if he would procure him to be King, which was done with ease, as the times then stood, but this Usurper being hated by the People, who generally loved the memory of *Milcolmb*, they set *Duncan Milcolmb's* Bastard against him, who forced him to retire to his Isles; *Duncan*, a Military man, shewed himself unfit for Government, so, *Donald* waiting all advantages, caused him to be beheaded, and restored himself; but his Reign was so turbulent, the Islanders and English invading on both sides, that they called in *Edgar* sonne of *Milcolmb*, then in
England,

England, who, with small assistances, posselt himself, all men deserting *Donald*, who being taken and brought to the King, died in Prison. *Edgar* secure by his virtues, and strengthened by the English alliance, spent nine years virtuously and peaceably, and gave the People leave to breathe and rest after so much trouble and bloudshed. His Brother *Alexander*, surnamed *Acer*, or the fierce, succeeded, the beginning of whose Reign, being disturbed by a Rebellion, he speedily met them at the *Jossy*, which being a swift River, and the Enemy on the other side, he offered himself to ford on horse-back but *Alexander* taking the imployment from him, forded the River with such courage, that the Enemy fled, and were quiet. The rest of his Reign some say he had the name of *Acer*, for that some Conspiratours being

being by the fraud of Chamberlaine, admitted into his Chamber, he casually waking first, slew the Chamberlain, and after six of the Conspiratours, not ceasing to pursue the rest, till he had slain most of them with his own hands, this with the building of some Abbeyes, and seventeen years Reign, is all we know of him.

His Brother *David* succeeded, one whose profuse prodigality upon the Abbeyes brought the renew of the Crown (so prevalent was the superstition of those dayes) almost to nothing, he had many battels with our *Stephen* about the lide of *Al-mul* the Emperesse, and having lost his excellent wife and hopefull Sonne in the flower of their dayes, he left the Kingdome to his Grandchildren, the eldest whereof was *David* a simple King, baffled, and led up and down into *France* by our

our *Henry* the second, which brought them to such contempt, that he was vext by frequent Insurrections, especially them of *Murray*, whom he almost extirpated; the latter part of his Reign was spent in building of Monasteries, he himself tyed by a Vow of Chastity, would never marry, but left his Successor his brother *William*, who expostulating for the Earldom of *Northumberland* gave occasion for a War, in which he was surprized and taken, but afterwards releast upon his doing Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland* to King *Henry*, of whom he acknowledged to hold it, and putting in Caution the Castles of *Roxborough* (once strong, now nothing but ruins) *Barwick*, *Edinburgh*, *Sterling*, all which notwithstanding was after released by *Richard Cœur de Lyon*, who was then upon

upon an expedition to the Holy War, from whence returning, both he, and *David* Earl of *Huntington*, brother to the King of *Scots* were taken Prisoners : the rest of his Reign (saving the rebuilding of Saint *Johnstone*, which had been destroyed by the waters, whereby he lost his eldest Son;) and some Treaties with our King *John* was little worth the memory; only you will wonder that a *Scottish* King could Reign fourty nine years and dye in peace.

Alexander his sonne succeeded, famous for little, save some Expeditions against our King *John*, some Insurrections, and a Reign two years longer then his Fathers. His sonne was the third of that name, a boy of eight years old, whose Minority was infested with the turbulent *Cumins*, who at riper age, being called to accompt, not onely refused,

refused, but surprized him at *Strawling*, governing him at their pleasure; but soon after he was awaked by a furious Invasion of *Arbo* King of *Normay*: (under the pretence of some Islands given him by *Mackay*) whom he forced to accept a Peace and spent the latter part amidst the turbulencies of the Priests (drunk at that time with their wealth and ease) and at last having seen the continued funerals of his Sons, *David*; *Alexander*, his wife, and his daughter, he himself with a fall from his horse broke his neck, leaving of all his race, only a Grand-child by his daughter, which dyed soon after.

This mans family being extinguished, they were forced to run to to another Line, which that we may see how happy, expedient, immediate Succession is for the Peace of the Kingdom, and what miseries it

pre-

prevents; I shall as briefly and as pertinently as I can, set down.

David, brother to King *William*, had three daughters, *Margaret* married to *Allan*, Lord of *Galloway*, *Isabell* married to *Robert Bruce*, Lord of *Annadale* and *Cleveland*; *Ada* married to *Henry Hastings*, Earl of *Huntington* now *Allan* begot on his wife *Dornadilla* married to *John Baliol* after King of *Scotland*, and other two daughters, *Bruce* on his wife *Robert Bruce*, Earle of *Carick*, (having married the heretrix thereof,) as for *Huntington* he desisted his claime; The question is, whether *Baliol* in right of the eldest daughter, or *Bruce* being come of the second (but a man) should have the Crown, he being in the same degree, and of the more worthy sex; the Controversie being tost up and down, at last was referred to *Ed-*

ward

ward the first of that name of *England*, he thinking to fish in these troubled waters, stirs up eight other Competitors, the more to entangle the business, and with twenty four Councillors, half *English*, half *Scots*, and abundance of Lawyers, fit enough to perplex the matter, so handled the business, after cunning delayes, that at length he secretly tampers with *Bruce* (who was then conceived to have the better right of the businessse) that if he would acknowledge the Crown of him, he would adjudge it for him, but he generously answering that he valued a Crown at a less rate, then for it to put his Countrey under a Forraign yoke; he made the same motion to *Balioll*, who accepted it; and so we have a King again, by what right we all see, but it is good reason to think that Kings, come they
by

by their power never so unjustly,
may justly keep it.

Balioll having thus got a Crown
as unhappily kept it, for no sooner
was he Crowned, and had done ho-
mage to *Edward*, but the *Aberne-
rby*s having slain *Macdoffe* Earl of
Fife, he not onely pardoned them,
but gave them a peice of land in
controverfie, whereupon *Macdoffe*'s
brother complains against him to
Edward, who makes him rise from
his seat at Parliament and go to the
bar, he hereupon enraged, denyes
Edward assistance against the
French, and renounses his homage,
Edward hereupon comes to *Ber-
wick* takes and kils seaven thousand,
most of the Nobility of *Fife* and
Lowthian, and after gave them a
great defeat at *Dunbar*, whose
Castle instantly surrendered: After
this, he marched to *Montrose*,
where *Balioll* refined himself and

Crown, all the Nobility giving Homage to *Edward*, *Balioll* is sent prisoner to *London*, and from thence after a years detention into *France*. Whilest *Edward* was possessor of all *Scotland*, one *William Wallace* arose, who being a private man, bestirred himself in the Calamity of his Countrey, and gave the *English* severall notable foyles. *Edward* coming again with an Army beat him (that was overcome with envy and emulation as well as power, upon which he laid by his Command, and never acted after, but slight Incursions) but the *English* being beaten at *Reslin*, *Edward* comes in again, takes *Sterling*, and makes them all render homage; but at length *Brues*, seeing all his promises nothing but smoak, enters into League with *Comen* to get the Kingdome; but being betrayed by him to *Edward*, he

he stabbed *Camen* at *Drumfries*, and made himself King. This man though he came with disadvantage, yet wanted neither patience, courage, nor conduct; so that after he had miserably lurk'd in the mountains, he came down, and gathering together some force, gave our *Edward* the second such a defeat near *Sterling*, as *Scotland* never gave the like to our Nation, and continued war with various fortune with the Third, till at last, age and Leprosie brought him to his grave. His son *David* a Boy of eight years, inherited that which he with so much danger obtained, and wisdom kept; In his minority he was governed by *Thomas Randolph* Earl of *Murray*, whose severity in punishing was no lesse dreaded than His valor had been honoured; but he soon after dying of poyson, and *Edward Baliol*, son of *John*, com-

ing with a Fleet, and strengthend
 with the assistance of the *English*,
 and some Robbers, the Governour
 the Earl of *Mar* was put to the
 rout, so that *Balial* makes himself
 King, and *David* was glad to retire
 into *France*; Amidst these parties
 (*Edward* the third backing *Balial*)
 was *Scotland* pitifully torn, and the
Brues in a manner extinguished,
 till *Robert* (after King) with them
 of *Argyle*, and his own Familie and
 Friends, begin to renew the Claim,
 and bring it into a War again,
 which was carried on by *Andrew*
Murray the Governour, and after
 by himself; that *David* after nine
 years banishment durst return,
 where making often Incurfions, he
 at length in the fourth year of his
 return, march'd into *England*, and
 in the Bishoprick of *Durham* was
 routed, fled to an obscure Bridge,
 shewed to this day by the Inhabi-
 tants,

tants, where he was by *John Cap-*
land taken prisoner, where he con-
 tinued nine years. and in the thirty
 ninth yeare of his Reigne died.

Robert his sisters son, whom he
 had intended to put by, succeeds,
 and first brought the *Strangers*
 (which at this day are a plague to
 the Nation) into play: This man
 after he was King, whether it were
 age or sloth, did little, but his Lieu-
 tenants and the *English* were perpe-
 tually in Action; he left his King-
 dom to *John* his Bastard Son by
 the Lady *Mors* his Concubine,
 whom he married, either to Legiti-
 mate the three Children (as the
 manner was then) he had by her, or
 else for old acquaintance (his Wife
 and her Husband dying much about
 a time) this *John* would be Crown-
 ed by the name of *Robert* (his own
 they say, being unhappie for
 Kings) a wretched unactive Prince,

lame, and onely governed by his brother *Walter*, who having *David* the Prince, upon the complaint of some exorbitancies, delivered to him to take care of, made him to be starv'd; upon which the King intending to send his Son *James* into *France*, the Boy was taken at *Flamburgh*, and kept by our *Henry* the Fourth; upon the hearing of which, his Father swooned, and soon after died: His reign was memorable for nothing, but his breaking with *George* Earl of *March*, to whose daughter, upon the payment of a great part of her portion (which he never would repay) he had promised his Son *David* for an husband: to take the Daughter of *Douglas* who had a greater, which occasioned the Earl of *March* to make many in-rodes with him *Henry* the Fourth; and a famous Duel of three hundred men a piece, whereof

whereof of the one side ten remain-
 ed, and of the other one, which was
 the onely way to appease the dead-
 ly Feuds of two Families: The
 Inter-reign was governed by *Ro-
 bert*, who enjoying the power, he
 had too much coveted, little mind-
 ed the libertie of his Nephew, one-
 ly he sent some Auxiliaries into
France, who, they say, behaved
 themselves worthily; and his sloth-
 full Son *Mordac*, who making his
 Sons so bold with indolgence, that
 one of them kill'd a Fauleon on his
 fist, which he desired to give him;
 he in revenge procured the Parlia-
 ment to ransom the King, who had
 been eighteen years prisoner. This
James was the first of that
 Name, and though he was
 an excellent Prince, yet had a
 troublesome Reign; first in regard
 of a great Pension raised for his
 Ransome, next for Domestick

Commotions, and lastly for raising of money, which though the Revenue was exhausted, was called Covetousnesse, which having offended *Robert Graham*, he conspired with the Earl of *Arbuthnot*, slew him in his Chamber, his Wife receiving two wounds, endeavouring to defend him.

This *James* left the second, a boy of six years, whose infancy by the mis-guidance of the Governour, made a miserable People, and betrayed the Earl *Douglas* to death, and almost all that great Family to ruine; but being supplanted by another Earl *Douglas*, the King in his just age suffered minority under him, who upon displeasure rebelled, and was kill'd by the Kings own hand; afterwards having his middle years perpetually molested with Civil broils, yet going to assist the Duke of *York* against *Henry* the Sixth,

Sixth, he was diverted by an *English* Gentleman, that counterfeited himself a *Nuncio* (which I mention out of a Manuscript, because I do not remember it in our Stories) and broke up his Army : soon after besieging *Roxburgh*, he was slain by the bursting of a Cannon in the twenty ninth year of his Age.

James the Third left a Boy of seven years, governed by his Mother, afterwards the *Boys* through the persuasions of Astrologers and Witches to whom he was strongly addicted, he declined to Cruelty, which so enraged the Nobility, that headed by his son, they conspired against him, routing his Forces near *Sterling*, wherein he flying to a Mill, and asking for a Confessor, a Priest came, who told him, that though he was no good Priest, yet he was a good *Leech* : and with that stabb'd him to the heart : A Parli-

ament approved his death, and ordered Indemnities to all that had fought against him.

James the Fourth, a Boy of fifteen years, is made King, Governed by the murderers of his Father, a prodigall vain-glorious Prince, slain at *Flodden Field*, or as some suppose at *Kelsey*, by the *Humers*, which (as the Manuscript alledges) seems more probability, in regard that the Iron Belt (a Ring to which he added every year) which he wore in repentance for the death of his Father, was never found, and there were many the day of the Battell habited like him. His Successor was his son, *James the Fifth* of that Name, a Boy of not above two years of age; under whose minority, what by the Mis-government of Tutors, what by the factions of the Nobility, *Scotland* was wasted almost into famine and solitude, yet in his

just age, he proved an industrious Prince, but could not so satisfie the Nobility, but he and they continued in a mutuall hate, till that barbarous execution of young *Hamilton*, so fill'd him with remorse, (he dreamt that *Hamilton* came and cut off his Arms, and threatned after to cut off his Head) and displeased the people, that he could not make his Army fight with the *English* then in *Scotland*, whereupon he dyed of grief, having heard the death of his two sons, who dyed at the instant of his Dream, and leaying a Daughter of five dayes old, whom he never saw.

This was that *Mary*, under whose minority (by the weaknesse of the Governour, and ambition of the Cardinall) the Kingdome felt all those woes that are threatned to them whose King is a Child. Till at length the prevalence of the *English* Arms

Arms (awakes for her Cause)
 brought the great designe of lend-
 ing her into France to perfection, so
 at five years old she was transport-
 ed, and at fifteen married to the
Dauphin Francis, after King,
 (whilest her mother, daughter of
 the *Guise*, in her Regency, exercised
 all Rage against the Professours of
 the pure Religion then in the dawning)
 who after two years, left her a
 childlesse Widow, so that at eigh-
 teen she returned into *Scotland* to
 succeed her Mother (then newly
 dead) in her exorbitancies.

This young Couple in the trans-
 port of their Nuptiall solemnities,
 took the Arms and Title of *Eng-
 land*; which indiscreet Ambition
 we may suppose first quickned the
 jealousy of *Elizabeth* against her,
 which after kindled so great a
 flame.

In *Scotland* she shewed what a
 strange

strange influence loose education
hath upon youth, and that weaker
Sex, all the *French* effeminacies
came over with her, the Court lost
that little severity which was left.
David Rix was the onely Fa-
vourite, and it too much feared, had
those enjoyments which no woman
can give, but she that gives away
her honour and chastity.

But a little after, *Henry Lord
Darnly*, coming with *Marjorie*
Earl of *Lenox* his father into *Scot-*
land, she cast an eye upon him, and
married him. Whether it were to
strengthen her pretension to *Eng-*
land, he being come of *Henry* the
Sevenths Daughter, as we shall tell
anon, or for to colour her Adulte-
ries, and hide the shame of an im-
pregnation, (though some have
whispered, that she never concei-
ved, and that the son was suppositi-
tious) or some Plurisy of affec-
tion

tion, drew her that way; certain it is she soon declined her affection to her husband, and increased it to *David* (he being her perpetuall Companion at Board, and managing all Affairs, whilst the King with a contemptible train was sent away) insomuch that some of the Nobility that could not digest this, entred a Conspiracy, which the king headed, and slew him in her Chamber.

This turn'd all the neglect of her Husband into rage, so that her chiefest business was to appease her Favorites Ghost with the slaughter of her Husband; poyson was first attempted, but it being (it seems) too weak, or his youth overcoming it, that expectation failed. But the Devil and *Barbuel* furnish'd her with another that succeeded, she intices him being so sick, that they were forc'd to bring him in an horrelitter

(FAL)

litter to *Edenburgh*, where she dis-
trust him extremely, till the credu-
lous young man began to lay aside
suspicion, and hope better; so she
puts him in a ruinous House near the
Palace, from whence no news can
be had, brings in her own bed, and
lies in the House with him; and at
length when the Designe was ripe,
cautes him one Sunday night, with
his servant, to be strangled, thrown
out of the window, and the House
blown up with Gun-powder, her
own rich bed having been before se-
cretly conveyed away. This and o-
ther performances made her favour
upon *Barbuel* so hot, that she must
marry him, the onely obstacle was,
he had a Wife already; but she was
compell'd to sue for a Divorce,
which (so great Persons being con-
cern'd) it was a wonder? was in
granting so long as ten dayes. Well,
she marries, but the more honest no-
bility,

bilie amazed at those exorbitances, gather together, and with arms in hands, begin to expostulate: The new-married people are forc'd to make back Southwards, where finding but slender assistances, and the Queen foolishly coming from *Dunbar* to *Leith*, was glad at last to delay a parley till her Dear was escap'd, and then (clad in an old tattered coat) to yield her self a prisoner.

Being brought to *Edinburgh*, and us'd rather with hate of her former enormities, then pity of her fortune, she received a message, that she must either resign the Crown to her son *James* (that was born in the time of her marriage with *Darnley*) or else they would proceed to another Election, and was forc'd to obey. So the Child then in his Cradle was acknowledged *James* the Sixth, better known afterwards by

by the Tide of *Great Britain*.
 The wretched mother flying as-
 tinto *England*, was entertained
 (though with a Guard) by Queen
Elizabeth, but after that being sub-
 joined by the *Papists*, and exaspera-
 ted by the *Guizars*, she entered into
 plots and machinations, so inconfi-
 dent with the safety of *England*,
 that by an Act of Parliament she
 was condemned to death, which she
 after received by an hatchet at *Fo-
 rbering-gay* Castle.

The infancy of her son was at-
 tended with those Domestick evils
 that accompany minority of Kings:
 In his youth he took to wife the
 Daughter of *Denmark*, (a woman
 I hear little of, saving that Chara-
 cter *Salust* gives *Sempronia*, she
 could *saltare elegantius quam nec-
 esse est proba*) with whom he sup-
 posing the Earl *Gowry* too much
 in League, caused him and his
 bro-

brother to be slain at their own House whither he was invited, he giving out, that they had an intent to murder him, and that by miracle, and the assistance of some men (whom he had instructed for that purpose, and taught their tale) he escap'd. For this Deliverance (or so say better assassination) he Blasphemed God with a solemn Thanksgiving once a year all the remainder of his life.

Happy had it been for us, if our fore fathers had laid hold of that happy opportunity of *Elizabeth's* death (in which the *Tenibers* took a period) to have performed that which (perchance in due punishment) hath cost us so much blood and sweat, and not have bowed under the sway of a Stranger (disdained by the most generous and wise at that time, and only supported by the Faction of some
and

and sloth of others) who brought but a slender title , and (however the assentation of the times cryed him up a *Solomon*) weak commendations for such an advancement.

The *Former* stood thus, *Margaret*, eldest daughter to *Henry* the Seventh, was married to *James* the Fourth, whose Son, *James* the Fifth, had *Mary* the Mother of *James* the Sixth. *Margaret* after her first Husbands death, martyrs *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, who upon her begot *Margaret*, wife of *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, and Mother of that *Henry Darnley*, whose Tragical end we just now mentioned. Now upon this slender Title, and our internal dissensions (for the *Cecilians* and *Essexians*, for several ends, made perpetual applications) got *James* from a Revenew of 30000. *li.* to one of almost two Millions, though there

there were others that had as fair pretences (what else can any of them make) the Statute of 25. Ed. 3. expressly excluding Forreigners from the Crown? and so the Children of *Charles Brandon* by *Mary* the Second Daughter, Dowager of *France*, being next to come in. And the Lady *Arbella*, being sprung from a third Husband, (the Lord *Stewart*) of the said *Margaret*, and by a Male Lyne, carried surely a formidable pretention. (it should seem) that even that iniquitie which was personally inherent to her, made her dayes very unhappy and most part captive, and her death (tis thought) somewhat too early, so cruel are the Persecutions of cowardly minds, even against the weakest and most unprotected innocence.

And indeed his right to the Crown was so satisfactorie even to the most judicious of those days; that

that *Tobie Matthew* having a suit about some priviledges which he claimed to his Bishoprick (which was then *Durham*) wherein the King opposed him; having one day stated the Case before some of his friends, and they seeming to approve of it; yes, sayes he, I could wish he had but half so good a Title to the Crown; and 'tis known that some speeches of Sir *Walter Rousley*, too generous and English for the times, was that which brought him to Trial and Condemnation for a feigned crime, and afterwards so facilitated that barbarous design of *Gundamar*, to cut of his head for a crime, for which he was condemned fourteen years before, and which by the Commissions he after received (according to the opinion of the then Lord Chancellor, and the greatest Lawyars) was in Law pardoned.

This

This may besides our purpose, but we could not sever this Consideration, unless we would draw him with an half face, and leave as much in umbrage as we expressed. That which most solemnized his Person, was, first the consideration of his adhering to the Protestant Religion, whereas we are to consider that those slight velitations he had with *Bellarmino* and the *Romanists*, tended rather to make his own Authoritie more intrinsically intense, and venerable, then to confute any thing they said, for he had before shakt them off, as to Foreign Jurisdiction, and for matter of Poperie, it appeared in his latter times that he was no such enemy to it, both by his own Compliances with the Spanish Ambassadors, the design of the Spanish Match, in which his Son was personally im-
barkt, and the slow assistances sent

to his Daughter, in whose safety and protection Protestantism was at that time so much concerned.

For his knowledge, he had some glancings and nibblings, which the severity of the excellent *Buchanan*, fore'd into him in his younger time, and after conversation somewhat polish'd, but though I bear not so great a contempt to his other works, as *Ben. Johnson* did to his Poetrie, yet if they among many others were a going to the fire, they would not be one of the first I should rescue, as possibly expecting more severe and refin'd judgement in many other. And knowing that he that had so many able Wits at command, might easily give their their Oracles through his mouth: but suppose the things generous and fit to live (as I am not yet convinc'd) yet what commendation is this to a King (who should have o-
ther

other a fineffie then spinning and weaving fine Theories, and engaging in School Ciquaneries) which was well understood by Henry the fourth, who hearing some men celebrate him with these Attributes; yea (answers he very tartly) *He is a fine King, and writes little Books.*

Tis true; he was a good droll, and possibly after Greek Wine somewhat factious. But for substantiall and Heroick Wifdome, I have not heard any great instances; he himself used to brag of his kingcraft, which was not to felicifie his People, and prosecute the ends of a good King; but to scruce up the Prerogative, divert Parliaments from the due disquisition and prosecution of their freedoms, and to break them up at pleasure, and indebt the rendition of the Cautionary Towns of the Low Countreys, and that for

so small a sum, shewed him a person not so quick-sighted, and unfit to be overreach'd.

For his peaceable Reigne, Honourable and just Quarrels he wanted not, but sloth and cowardize withheld him, and indeed the ease and luxury of those times, fomented and nourished those lurking and pestilent humours, which afterwards so dangerously broke out in his Sons Reign.

We shall not trouble his ashes with the mention of his Personall faults; onely, if we may compare Gods Judgements with apparant sinnes; we may find the latter end of his life, neither fortunate nor comfortable unto him, His wife dissatisfied by him, and some say, languishing of a foul disease; his eldest son dying, *Nimis apertis indicis*, of Poyson, and that as is feared by a hand too much allied: His second

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(with

(with whom he ever had a secret Antipathy) scarce returned from a mad and dangerous voyage ; His daughter (all that was left of that sex) banish'd, with her numerous issue, out of her husbands Dominion, and living in miserable exile ; and lastly, himself dying of a violent death (by poyson) in which his Son was more then suspected to have an hand, as may be infer'd by *Buckingham's* Plea, that he did it by the Command of the then Prince ; his own dissolution of the Parliament that took in hand to examine it ; and lastly, his indifferency at *Buckingham's* death (though he pretended all love to him alive) as glad to be rid of so dangerous and so considerable a Partner of his guilt ; yet the Mitted Parasites of those times, could say, one went to Heaven in *Noah's* Ark, the other in *Elisha's* chariot, he dying of a pretended

ed Fever, she (as they said) of a drop sic.

Charles, having now obtain'd his Brothers inheritance, carried himself in managing of it, like one that gain'd it as he did. The first of his Acts, was that glorious attempt upon the Isle of *Rber*. The next that Noble and Christianly betraying of *Rachell*, and consequently in a manner the whole Protestant interest in *France*. The middle of his Reign was heightening of Prerogative and Prelacy, and conforming our Churches to the pattern of *Rome*; till at last just indignation brought in his Subjects of *Scotland* into *England*, and so forc'd him to call a Parliament; which though he shamelessly say in the first line of the Book (call'd his) was out of his own inclination to *Parliaments*, yet how well he lik'd them may appear by his first tampering with

his own Army in the North, to surprize and dissolve them, then the Scots (who at that time were Court-proof) then raising up the Irish Rebellion, which hath wasted Millions of lives; and lastly, open secession from *Westminster*, and hostility against the two Houses, which maintain'd a first and second sharp War, which had almost ruined the Nation, had not Providence in a manner immediately interposed and rescued us to liberty, and made us such signall Instruments of his vengeance, that all wicked Kings may tremble at the example.

In a word never was man so resolute and obstinate, and so Tyrannic, never a people more strangely belottet with it, to paint the Image (of *David*) with his face, and Blasphemously parallel him with Christ, would make one at first thought think him a Saint

Saint : But to compare his Pro-
 stations and actions; his actions of
 the day, his actions of the night, his
 Protestant Religion and his Court-
 ing of Pope, and obedience to his
 wife, we may justly say, he was one
 of the most consummate in the Arts
 of Tyranny that ever was. And it
 could be no other then Gods hand
 that arrested him in the height of
 his Designs and greatnesse, and cut
 off him and his Familie, making
 good his own Imprecation upon his
 own head.

Our Scene is again in *Scotland*,
 who hath accepted his Son, whom
 for distinction sake, we will be con-
 tent to call *Charles* the Second. Cer-
 tainly these People were strangely
 blind as to Gods judgement perpe-
 tually poured out upon a Familie,
 or else to their own interest, to ad-
 mit the spray of such a stock; one
 that hath so little to commend him,
 and

and so great improbabilitie for their designs and happiness, a Popish (or very near it) education, if not Religion too (however for the present he may seem to dissemble it, *Frank*, the Jesuites and his Mother good means of such improvement) the dangerous Maxims of his Father, (besides the revenge he owes his death, of which he will never totally acquit the *Scots*) his hate to the whole Nation, his sence of *Montrosse* his death; his backwardnesse to come to them till all other means failed (both his Forreign begg'd Assistances, his Propositions to the Pope, and Commissions to *Montrosse*) and lastly, his late running away to his old friends in the North; so that any man may see this his Compliance to be but Historionical and forc'd, and that as soon as he hath led them into the snare, and got power into his own hands,

hands, so as he may appear in his own visage; he will be a scourge upon them for their gross hypocrisie, and leave them a sad instance to all Nations, how dangerous it is to espouse such an interest, which God with so visible and severe a hand fights against, carried on by, and for the support of a Tyrannizing Nobilitie and Clergie, and wherein the poor People are blindly led on by those affrighting (but false and ungrounded) pretensions of perfidy and perjury, and made instrumentall with their own estates and blood, for the enslaving and ruining themselves.

F I N I S.